

## FROM PARIS.

The Human Question—French Opinion of American Affairs.  
From Our Own Correspondent.

PARIS, Sept. 30, 1864.

One of the soundest of French publicists in his political chronicle and review of the first fortnight of September intimated his opinion that the unusual calm, the almost stagnation of the public mind, was getting to be alarming; that it boded no good to government itself. M. Forcade is not singular in that opinion; Louis Napoleon, among others, is supposed to hold it; it rests on an argument summed up in the proverb that the devil finds work for idle minds. Under a divine-providence government for the subject to fall a thinking, in lack of outward distractions, about himself and the way he is taken care of is the devil and all. If one of the objects of the Emperor in forming the France-Italian Convention was to give his liege something to employ their thoughts about, that object has been fully obtained. Discussion on it and its bearings is universal, constant, animated, and ever widening and deepening in extent of subjects and in intensity of interests, nor likely to diminish for a long time to come. The sincerity of these last names is to be questioned a little. It is their very sincerity that inspires them to use and abuse all their influence over their subordinates—the end sanctifying the means—whose influence in turn is brought to bear from pulpit and confessional and at weddings and funerals and christenings all over France, and all brought for the Holy Father's judgment of the necessities of the case, to leave to the course of events.

To regard it as the immediate solution of the Roman Question—as the forced solution of the Roman Question at the end of two years—is an estimate of the value of paper conventions however solemnly formulated, which a glance at the series of solemn paper or parchment declarations, notes, treaties, etc., that it adds to but does not terminate, shows the extravagance of. For instance, it abrogates the more solemn Treaty of Zwickau; it excludes from intervention in the case the Hungarian Catholic powers, whose old claim to intervention was solemnly recognized, and whose active, final saving intervention was solemnly invited in a note published in the *Mouvement* four years ago to day. These are but two of many instances in point.

The terms of this Convention, like the terms of its predecessors in the series, are indefinite and insidious. That it is, however, the sign of a great advance in the road toward Italian unity, and of United Italy toward Rome as its capital, this same glances at the same series pretty plainly shows. It shows that the Emperor has given up what, with characteristic frankness and in accordance with traditional French policy, he was longing clinging to the "idea" of his Italian campaign, the idea of a confederate Italy which, in its constitutional weakness, should be a necessarily faithful and subject ally of France. It shows his really earnest desire, with this sacrifice, of getting rid of his extremely embarrassing, thanks military protectorate of the Papal royal, as, on the other hand, it shows the extreme embarrassemnt he puts to in getting rid of it. With habitual caution and common sense, he rarely commits himself to nothing absolute, secures himself two years' time for watching, keeps his powder moist, and gives other parties time to consider his half-mocking, half-cynical, not more than half-avowed policy.

The general premonition here is that Italy will accept this half loaf offered by the Convention, and that, whatever be the literary and theoretical interpretations of its text, its practical interpretation must be more favorable to Italian Unity than to the Pope's temporal power. In the friends of Unity show a certain suspicious anxiety in their eagerness to prove this likelihood to a certainty, the advocates of the temporal power betray a most patient anxiety in their assumed confidence in their arguments to the contrary. Some of the ablest of these last, frankly confess their despair of chances of earthly aid, but retain old trust in Providence (with whose designs in their favor they profess a great familiarity), and, subordinately only, in the needs of Austria's Veto, the policy, and in Napoleon's need of consolidating the clerical party at home. Whether the Convention abandons Rome to the Pope, or abandons the Pope to Rome, their fear is the same. Two alone of the Catholic sovereigns of Europe agree between themselves to undertake to define and control the territory, the finances and the military power—let alone the foreign relations of a third sovereign prince of Europe, when the Pope's temporal power confesses it. This is much a violation of European international law—or the letter of it—was the partition of Poland. The treaty stipulates, indeed, that the revolutionists of Italy, the Garibaldians for example, shall be prevented from entering Rome by Victor Emanuel; but it stipulates that neither Austria nor other foreign Power shall offend the Pope's temporal sovereignty against Italy—subject. It stipulates that he may, if he can, recruit an army and pay it out of his diminished income of natives or Catholic foreigners, but not large enough to threaten his Italian neighbor—his aching neighbor. Around him and his hired police army, on one part, his people, or the disengaged Italian majority of them, on the other part, France and Italy are performing a ring and a sort of fair play is observed in such free fight as is like to ensue! Did not the Pope have a recruited army a few years ago that fought too and got defeated, and under a very able French general at that? Did his Roman Majesty thereby lose the best part of his earthly possessions, which were won by the King of Italy under the then formal and earnest protest of the Emperor who now formally recognizes the Italian King's full right to their possession? What shall prevent something very like this happening again? Ask the friends of Italy sincerely, the friends of the temporal power mournfully.

The underlying questions are, Will the Emperor of the French dare to let such things happen? It is no trouble, here that Prince Napoleon and Garibaldi, whose sentiments in the matter are well known, negotiate in Italian acceptance of the Convention. In that acquisition nearly all Liberals, all friends of Italian unity, are of accord. Not that they are all content with the uncertain terms of the Convention—not that the calm wise of them see in it the term of the life-long labor Italy must yet struggle through before arriving at National unity, and then at national home freedom, which is quite different but necessarily consequent and better thing; but they regard it as a secured advance toward the ideal goal, from which there can be no retreat backward. Like Lincoln's tardy predictions, for us they were too long delayed (because we were so ill-armed). They were not all that some of us wished; but they were all then established signs and portents of progress set up on a road where there is no retreat possible, and where they make the hard road yet to be traveled clearer in direction.

Per contra: In the settlement of his long ranging entangling account with Rome, the Emperor has two formidable hosts to reckon with. First of these is the clerical party in France. I am constrained to use this title: "Clerical Party," in want of a better, more definite one. It has been not unmercifully, and is often freely and wrongfully applied. I see it here as the most convenient general label to indicate a great multitude of French people who are subject to the leading of the Roman Catholic clergy of France; these being subject in political affairs and opinions to the leading of a comparatively full of the higher clergy and of their lay collaborators. The strength of this party lies in the real ability—partly, but far a larger part in the sinosity and sanguineness of the persons of its leaders. It is always organized. However anomaly it underlies this issue it is invariably, centrally, uniformly looking to, working for one single end, like as a star that marks the last limit that talents not rise. We find an analogy to it in our political history, in the review of which we can now see the immense, cumulative, baneful strength of the Southern politicians, who, whether Whigs or Jacksonians, or friendly or opposed to them, were Federalists, Know-Nothings, Republicans, Democrats, were steadily, radically, always and fatuously Slaveholders. Their force lay in their singleness and purity of aim, and as they ruled a majority of generally opposed but solidified interests and feelings and more intelligent epistles. Now there are days in France six cardinals, fifteen archbishops, sixty-nine bishops, one hundred and fifty-

"Sousch" was wont to come, the sun upon the marsh, and to hold out its reproductive powers to be granted by everybody. All of these failures are, I learn directly due to implicit belief in a Confederate prospect—represented in the *Times*—and consequent investments. And now what says *The Times* and other of Whiffs or else? They are horribly perplexed and almost all about it. They hardly know, but what to do about the split in the Democratic party. Those American correspondents—those of *The Times*, *The Telegraph*, *Post* and *Standard*—are going it tooth and nail to furnish life models for the worst pictures of clerical abominations that naive novelists like Eugene Sue and foreign protestant preachers and prejudiced people have ever ornamented their romance, sermons or violent talk with. Admitting all that, and regarding certain violations of native law on the priestly part that must constantly furnish such models for such pictures—noting is true that the French Catholic clergy, as a body, can do comparisons with the clergy of no matter what sects, of no matter what other country. In the Wood-Vallandigham party will join the McClellanites at a proper moment, in time to give the election, an opinion already confirmed by a telegraph published in the second edition of yesterday's *Times*, announcing the adoption of the latter-mentioned standard. Some say, also, that the division in the Democratic ranks has for its object the keeping of Fremont in the field, so that people may be persuaded that with four candidates asking for votes, there will be a chance of throwing the election into the house. All the Anglo-Rebels are summing up that the Democrats will revert to their old rule of voting solidly, next November.

But let me, while there is yet time, preserve a few of the fresher expressions of approval of Gen. McClellan to the different armies of the Republic, since the commencement of the war, nearly four millions of pounds sterling of army necessities, comforts, and luxuries, its establishment, organization, magnitude and achievements prove three things:

*Fir*st, the armies of the North can be rendered impervious to more attacks without the slightest infringement of military discipline, or interference with the legitimate and important functions of arms.

*Second*, The American Civil War affords the brightest example of spontaneous and yet organized benevolence, and furnishes an example which other nations will do well to emulate.

*Third*, The whole of the American people—men, women, and children alike—in this country, are more efficient, prove consummately fit for war, and are carried on as many in rank and file, by the government of a nation, led by the great mass of the citizens, in no other way can you explain the colossal achievements of this volunteer command.

Mark that "thirdly." It and the entire lecture were received with frequent demonstrations of applause by the audience, and, at the banquet, Lord Brougham's annual documentation of the people of the Northern States was completely justified by the toast of "The health of our foreign visitors"—Fudge Morning being called on to reply. Indeed, his *first* lordship seemed to be the only Anglo-Copperhead present, everybody else being particularly friendly to the United States visitors. If Mr. Fisher had had a few more weight of the documents published by the Commission, he might easily have disposed of them, such was the cordially evinced about his aims and workings.

A paragraph about Miller, in redemption of my promise. The interest of the case has but slightly subsided since he is condemned, expressed although it is with considerable simplicity, that his party is to blame for the war—if possible, in my view, for the Union, but if this be so, the chief responsibility is put on those who have brought up the preservation of the Union as a cause which is to be put off to the last moment.

Miller, the man of whom, though he has been exonerated, is also prepared to return immediately to that anarchy of law and right with which he was generously interfered.

What may be the precise events that would follow if Gen. McClellan's election still did not much on his personal character and talents, but on the amount of treasonable conduct he has displayed in the course of the war, and the slighter his record of service, will be the chief consideration in trying the case.

We see every reason to corroborate the friends of humanity and of common sense on the Resolutions arrived at by the Chinese Convention.

Gen. McClellan has been neither an explicit nor an implicit. Still we gather from the "platform" he is as he is, he is comitted, expressed although it is with considerable simplicity, that his party is to blame for the war—if possible, in my view, for the Union, but if this be so, the chief responsibility is put on those who have brought up the preservation of the Union as a cause which is to be put off to the last moment.

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